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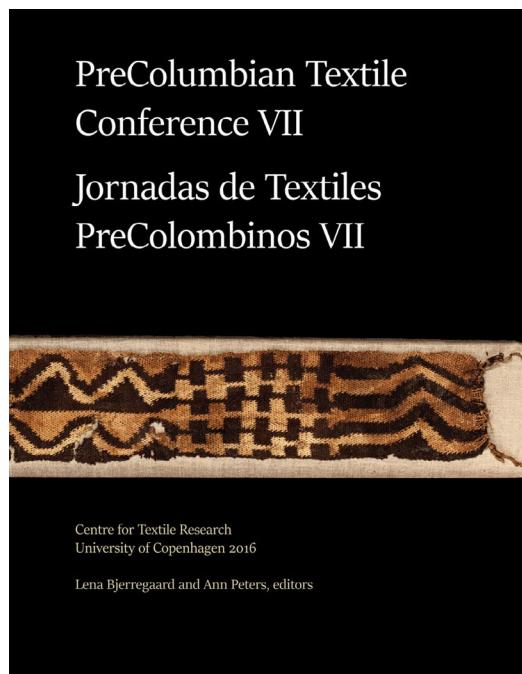
# Headdress forms in the Paracas Necrópolis Mortuary Tradition

**Ann H. Peters**

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## Headdress forms in the Paracas Necrópolis Mortuary Tradition

Ann H. Peters<sup>1</sup>

### Abstract

The importance of headdress is indicated by its careful arrangement on the head of the recently deceased, display on the apex of a mortuary bundle, and prominent depiction in contemporary artifacts. In woven, embroidered or painted imagery, headdress elements include featherwork, the body of a bird or mammal, draped cloth or intertwined bands, often depicted as serpents. Due to their position above the human body, the headdresses are the most consistently preserved textile artifacts in tombs of the Paracas Necropolis mortuary tradition. Some elements appear only with men, others are found with both men and women and certain headcloths are unique to women. Diverse headdresses are present in each bundle, and the forms, materials and styles change among funerary contexts placed in the Necropolis of Wari Kayan and other sectors of the Paracas site between about 200 BCE and 200 CE. Therefore, headdresses provide insight into changing social identities, relationships to the landscape, and political alliances with neighboring societies linked to the late Paracas and early Nasca traditions, demonstrating a dynamic process of interaction and transformation on the south coastal region of the Central Andes.

**Keywords:** Paracas, Nasca, Topara, mortuary analysis, gender, garment system

### Formas de tocado en la Tradición Mortuaria de la Necrópolis de Paracas

#### Resumen

La importancia del tocado se indica por su arreglo cuidadoso en la cabeza del recién fallecido, su ubicación en la vértice del fardo mortuorio, y su representación prominente en los artefactos contemporáneos. En los imágenes tejidos, bordados o pintados, los elementos de tocado incluyen plumarios, el cuerpo de una ave o un mamífero, una tela o bandas entrelazadas, con frecuencia tomando la forma de serpientes. Debido a su posición arriba del cuerpo humano, los tocados son el tipo de artefacto textil conservado con mayor frecuencia en las tumbas de la tradición mortuaria de Paracas Necrópolis. Algunos elementos aparecen únicamente con los hombres, otros se encuentran tanto con hombres como con mujeres, y ciertas telas de tocado únicamente con mujeres. Diversos tocados están presentes en cada fardo, y las formas, los materiales y los estilos cambian entre los contextos funerarios introducidos en la Necrópolis de Wari Kayan y otros sectores del sitio de Paracas entre c. 200 BCE y 200 CE. Por lo mismo, los tocados ofrecen una visión de cambiantes identidades sociales, relaciones con el paisaje, y alianzas políticas con sociedades vecinas ligadas a las tradiciones de Paracas tardío y Nasca temprano, así demostrando un proceso dinámico de interacción y transformación en la región de la costa sur de los Andes Centrales.

**Palabras claves:** Paracas, Nasca, Topara, análisis mortuorio, género, indumentaria

The Necropolis of Wari Kayan at the Paracas site, also referred to as the Paracas Necropolis, is a cemetery composed of pit tombs containing well-wrapped conical mortuary bundles, almost all facing north with foodstuffs, pottery, gourds and baskets at their feet and staffs and (generally in male contexts) weapons at their right side. Photographs from the

1927-1928 excavations, directed by Julio C. Tello, give the impression of huge seated figures looking out over the steep hillside towards the Bay of Paracas (Fig. 1).

Under a densely woven cotton outer wrapping, the larger and better preserved bundles were dressed in large mantles, headdresses and other garments and regalia, arranged in

1. Project: Practice in Life, Presence after Death: Style and Substance at the Paracas Necrópolis [ann.h.peters@gmail.com](mailto:ann.h.peters@gmail.com) <http://www.arqueología-paracas.net/>

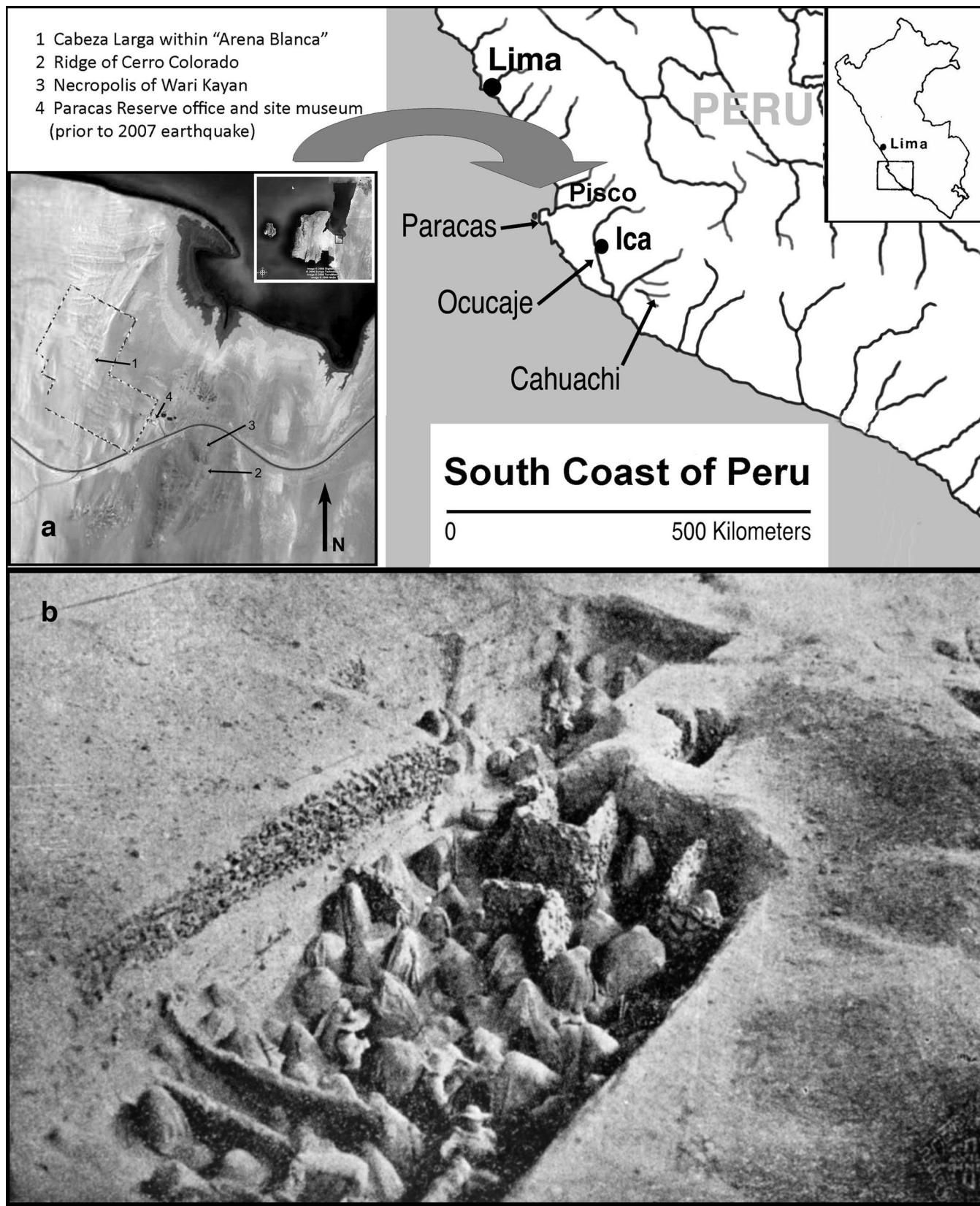


Figure 1. (a) Paracas site in the context of the south coast region; composite satellite image and map created by A. H. Peters and E. Tomasto, with permission from Google Earth. (b) An area of the Necropolis of Wari Kayan under excavation in 1927-1928; image based on Carrion Cachot 1949 plate III. All images not otherwise credited are by A. H. Peters.

layers alternating with large cotton wrapping cloths around a seated, mummified individual at the core.<sup>2</sup> Here 'Paracas Necropolis' refers to the specific, recurrent tomb form and arrangement of artifacts that constitute evidence of a mortuary tradition, defined in sectors A and B of the Wari Kayan cemetery but also present in some other areas of the Paracas site and potentially elsewhere in the region.

Many Paracas Necropolis garments are embroidered, a decorative procedure unusual among Andean textile traditions known for design based on the manipulation of warps and wefts, forms of diagonal interlacing, knotting and other structural techniques. This discussion focuses on headdress elements, including those created using these structural techniques as well as those that incorporate embroidered design.

Paracas Necropolis garments are constructed using panels of 1:1 plain weave in cotton or camelid hair, either balanced or somewhat warp-dominant, joined with simple seams of overhand stitching using yarns like those employed in the weaving. The "post-structural" decoration includes embroidery based on backstitch, and also, in Linear design, on running stitch and whipping stitch.<sup>3</sup> The embroidered areas of garment margins are usually bound with yarn like that used in the embroidery. The most common binding technique incorporates two or more rows of complex looping, often called cross-knit looping due to its structural resemblance to knitting.<sup>4</sup> Many garments have a fringe along some parts of the garment margins, and in these areas the edge binding also covers the join between the separately constructed fringe and the adjacent plain weave panel.

Due to the striking colors and imagery in the embroidered areas and their relationship to imagery depicted on ceramics, textiles and other media in the contemporary south coast traditions that we call late Paracas and early Nasca, most analysis of the Wari Kayan textile assemblage has focused on embroidery styles. Following Dwyer (1979), one group of styles is termed the Linear mode (also called Geometricized or Abstract by members of Tello's research team), while a second group of styles is termed the Block Color mode (also termed Naturalistic by Tello's team and other early 20<sup>th</sup> century researchers). Paul (1982) defined the Broad Line style group, which combines features from both the Linear and Block Color modes. Peters (1997) defines a Linear style group largely associated with headcloths. As the Necropolis textiles are more fully documented, a wider range of more specific styles can be defined and

traced among the gravelets, and hopefully also will be traced in other sites in the region. Here, similarities to textiles associated with late Paracas tradition contexts and early Nasca contexts are noted, while artifacts with characteristics that do not recur among the Necropolis gravelets are referred to as 'outsider' styles.

Garment forms have received less attention, though Carrón (1931) provides some diagrams and Paul (1990) develops reconstructions of wear and a useful classification of male attire based on garment categories developed by Carrón and used in most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century mortuary bundle openings and inventories. Female garment types were also defined in mortuary bundle documentation beginning in 1933, but were not published. Frame (2007) developed a proposal regarding the depiction of female attire and also noted a form of loincloth resembling those excavated by Kroeber at Cahuachi and analyzed by O'Neale (1937). Peters and Tomasto (2017) discuss the expression of gender identities in garment types and forms of regalia.

Based on a review of all documented garment forms present in Necropolis mortuary bundles, I propose a more specific typology of male and female garment forms, useful for discussing both gender and patterns of cultural association and influence throughout the period of cemetery formation and the Paracas-Nasca transition. While examples of the same garment form may be embroidered with different motifs and in different styles, specific garment forms turn out to be a strong marker of mortuary bundles constructed over the same period. This is probably because they are emblematic of social affiliations expressed in the cultural practices of garment production, the offering or collection of garments as mortuary offerings, and the dressing of the ancestral bundle.<sup>5</sup>

Headdresses are particularly prominent and often well preserved, as they are located on the individual's head or wrapped around "false heads" in the display layers, generally located at the apex of the mortuary bundle and therefore less subject to decay. Headdress elements appear to have played a prominent role in signifying social identity or affiliation of the deceased person, messages which were replicated or transformed in the sequence of display layers, reconstructions of the evolving identities of an ancestral figure (Deleonardis and Lau 2004, Peters 2010). Headdresses are not only visually prominent elements of each mortuary bundle, they are also formally diverse, particularly within and among the male mortuary bundles.

2. Tello 1929; Tello 1959; Tello and Mejía 1979; Tello (comp.) 2012; Yacovleff and Muelle 1934

3. These techniques have been described and diagrammed by O'Neale (1932) and several of the other publications cited here.

4. Yacovleff and Muelle 1934, fig. 9 p. 91.

5. For discussion of the relationships between the formal variations we term 'style' and techniques, practices and *habitus* (Bourdieu 1977), as well as intentioned or emblematic expressions of social identity, see Dietler and Herbich (1998), as well as essays in Conkey and Hastorf (1990) and Carr (1995).



Figure 2. End finishes of women's warp-patterned bands, stitched in two layers and draped over the outer display layer of the mortuary bundle. (a) WK 113 item 5, AMNH 41.2/8840, photo A. H. Peters. (b) WK 347 item 4, MNAHP RT5009; photo Maria Jhong/ MNAHP.

## Headbands

All headbands are constructed with S(2z) camelid hair yarns<sup>6</sup> similar to those used in the contemporary embroideries. While painstaking and complex, headband construction could have been a portable art, suited to the mobile lives of herders and travelers. Headdress bands have been documented arranged on the head of male individuals, and are typically wrapped around a 'false head' structure created by the bound apex of a male mortuary bundle. The forms and techniques are diverse, and change over time. One form of band is also found draped over the outer display layer of

some female mortuary bundles, dated to early phases of the Wari Kayan cemetery sequence contemporary with Paracas phase 10.

The bands draped over female bundles<sup>7</sup> are wide, constructed of two layers of warp-dominant plain weave, with images created by substituting supplementary warps on one or more contrasting colors, that float on the back when not in use (Fig. 2). The two warp-faced panels have been stitched together back to back, enclosing these loose warps. Plain weave with warp substitution (Rowe 1977) is also used in woven borders on contemporary male tunic form 2.<sup>8</sup> Only two examples of these wide bands associated with women have been

6. S(2z) refers to two z-spun (counterclockwise) yarns plied together in the S (clockwise) direction. I use a notation system closely related to that developed by Splitstoser and Tiballi, explained in Splitstoser 2012.

7. Peters and Tomasto 2017, figs. 3 and 5, pp. 390-392.

8. Paul 1990, plates 2 and 4; Peters 2014a, figs. 4c, 6b, 6d p. 123, 130, 132; Peters 2014b, fig. 4e, 6a.



Figure 3. Men's looped headbands: an early form arranged on the man's head: (a) WK 136 item 21, MRI DB-48; photo A. H. Peters. Later forms wrapped around the 'false head' in the outer display layer: (b) WK 421 item 9a, MAAHP RT1032; (b) WK 421 item 9, MAAHP RT1701; photos Maria Jhong/ MAAHP.

well-documented to date: WK 113 item 5 (Fig. 2a) ends in a long 4-ply fringe, with a wide tubular sleeve of cross-knit looping covering the join while WK 347 item 5 (Fig. 2b) divides into three segments near each end.<sup>9</sup> A simpler warp-patterned plain weave band with a 'stripe and ladder' pattern, similar to the woven borders of a women's dress,<sup>10</sup> was draped over the outer display layer of female bundle WK 326; like that of WK 113, it was ornamented by two pairs of triangular yellow-feathered pendants attached by cotton cords.

While they were not found binding the apex of these female bundles, these bands are structurally related to contemporary headbands worn by men. Narrower headbands

with warp substitution are documented in contemporary contexts at Ocucaje and on the head of the man in early bundle WK 110.<sup>11</sup> Narrow warp-patterned 'stripe and ladder' headbands have been documented among later Wari Kayan male contexts designated as phase EIP 1B or EIP 2, including WK 310 and WK 38.

Tubular looped headbands (Fig. 3) are documented among early male contexts, both on the head of the individual and atop the outer display layer in WK 401, WK 381 and WK 136<sup>12</sup> and combined with the close-knotted type atop a display layer on WK 114 and WK 157. The early form is relatively loose and flexible and divided into two or three

9. MAAHP 2013, fig. 96 pp. 172-3.

10. Peters and Tomasto 2017, fig. 6 p. 393.

11. Peters 2014b, fig. 4e.

thick 'fingers' at the finished ends. Several documented examples, such as WK 136 item 21 (Figure 3a), were placed in a mortuary bundle with one end and about a meter of the patterned tube completed, long yarns extending from the unfinished end like a fringe. Linear mode images worked in supplementary yarns in three or four colors depict motifs also common among Paracas Tradition textiles from the Cavernas tombs or Ocuaje.

In later male bundles designated as EIP 1A or 1B, the looped bands are longer and flat, more tightly made with finer yarns, and divide into four, five or six tubular 'fingers' at each end.<sup>13</sup> Complete examples are over four meters in length. WK 421 items 9 and 9a (Fig. 3b, 3c), two looped headbands arranged together, formed part of two sets of matching garments. Their color and motifs each match Linear mode embroidery on borders and panels arrayed across the plain weave ground fabric of a large mantle, 'unkuña' type tunic and man's wrap-around skirt placed in the bundle.<sup>14</sup> Many tubular looped headbands conserve bunches of small yellow feathers bound with cotton yarn at one or both ends. Short versions have been found in bundles containing relatively elaborate miniature garments.<sup>15</sup>

Close-knotted headbands (Fig. 4) are typical of early Wari Kayan male contexts and fragments have been identified in much later bundles, perhaps placed as heritage objects. The genre is defined by a close knotted panel depicting repeating motifs, flanked by two panels in a complex diagonal interlace forming a diamond pattern, followed by two panels of weft patterning over grouped warps that typically depict a simplified version of the central motif, followed by the warps extending in two long yarn fringes. Complete examples are about 25 cm. wide and about 4.5 to six meters in length. A narrower type depicting smaller motifs<sup>16</sup> is typical of Paracas tradition contexts in the Cavernas tombs (Medina 2009) and appears at Ocuaje in several styles and color combinations. As Medina has noted, the wider Necropolis type depicts Linear mode motifs like those embroidered on contemporary mantles.<sup>17</sup> One of the knotted headbands on the apex of WK 114, together designated as item 6, is in an Ocuaje style depicting two alternating motifs (Fig. 4a), while the other (Fig. 4b) is a wider type typical of the early Necropolis mortuary bundles. A knotted headband was worn by each of the men in WK 210 and WK 352,<sup>18</sup> and one was wrapped over two headcloths on the head of the man

12. Lavallée 2008, fig. 11, p. 88; Verde 2009, fig. 16, pp. 70.

13. Lavallée 2008, fig. 57, pp. 151, fig. 71, p. 180; Verde 2009, figs. 60-61, pp. 116-7.

14. Carrión 1949, plate VI; Kajitani 1982, figs. 26 and 30; Tello and Mejía 1979, cover.

15. Lavallée 2008, fig. 23, p. 104, fig. 29 pp. 108-9; Verde 2009, figs. 35, 37 pp. 87-8.

16. For example, MNAHP 2013, fig. 97 pp. 175-6.

17. Lavallée 2008, fig. 12, pp. 89; Verde 2009, fig. 49 p. 71, fig. 52 pp. 104-5.

18. Peters 2014b, fig. 5f.

19. Lavallée 2008, fig. 12, pp. 89; Verde 2009, fig. 17 p. 71.



Figure 4. Men's close knotted and looped headbands: WK 114 item 6, three headbands and extra fringe, originally wrapped around the top of the outer layer of the mortuary bundle to create a huge 'false head' structure. (a) The upper, Ocuaje style knotted headband was at the core, with a looped headband wrapped at the front to create a 'topknot'; (b) details and overview of the larger headband with two-headed bird motifs wrapped beneath it. AMNH 41.2/8739, 41.2/8742; photos A. H. Peters.

in WK 199. Knotted headbands also wrap the 'false head' in display layers in WK 210, WK 157 and WK 49.<sup>19</sup>

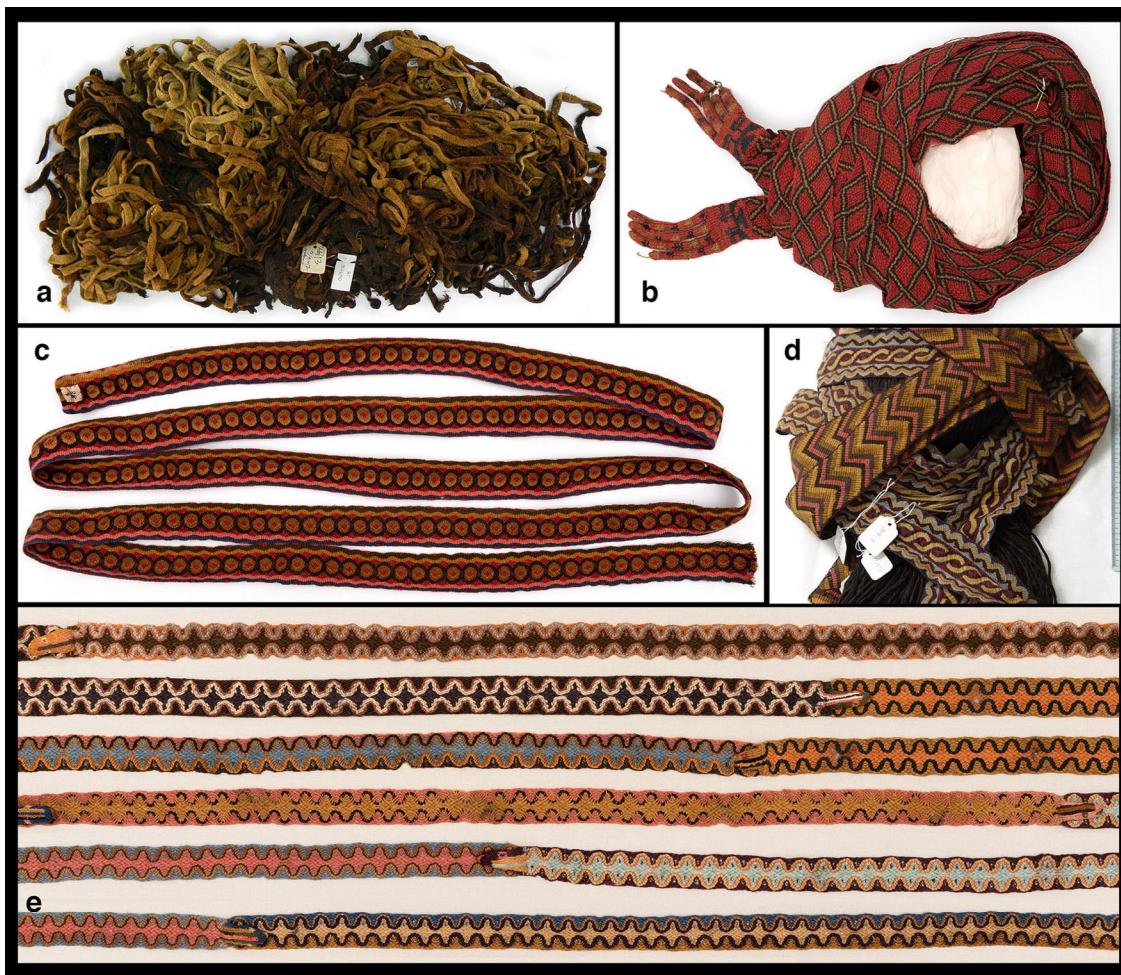


Figure 5. Men's oblique interlaced headbands: (a) WK 26 item 13, long monochrome band originally wrapped around the top of the bundle, MNAAHP RT37690; photo A. H. Peters. (b) WK 421 item 10, band conserved in position, arranged on the top of the mortuary bundle, MNAAHP RT14094; (c) WK 38 item 7, one of two textured bands, part of the headdress of the outer display layer, MNAAHP RT2847; (d) WK 38 item 43, headband in the form of a series of serpents, wrapped around the top of an inner layer, MNAAHP RT1875; photos Maria Jhong / MNAAHP. (e) WK 319 item 3, hairpiece with one monochrome and two wide textured bands, MNAAHP RT3858; photo A. H. Peters.

Oblique interlaced headbands (Fig. 5) have a long history. A relatively narrow monochrome type constructed with pairs of camelid hair yarns is present in early contexts that include late Paracas tradition garment types, such as Cateo (test pit) 99 tomb 2, and later recurs in EIP 1A contexts such as WK 26 (Fig. 5a), as well as EIP 2 contexts like WK 319 (Fig. 5d). WK 26 item 13, originally wrapped around the apex of the bundle, is a very long band, less than two cm. in width, which has never been extended for measurement. While oblique interlaced ties on men's skirts and loincloths are structurally similar, the headbands have tightly interlaced paired elements and appear to have been constructed from one end, while the ties have a looser 2/2 twill-like interlace symmetrical around a center line, and may have been constructed in pairs using a sprang technique (Frame 1991).

Wider headbands combine balanced oblique interlace of paired yarns with 'rep' single-faced bands of compact elements, in one or more contrasting colors, that cross in patterns resembling a three-strand braided or plied structure.<sup>20</sup> Where their arrangement has been preserved, they may bind the forehead and topknot of a man,<sup>21</sup> or form a cap-like hemisphere around the top of a mortuary bundle, as preserved in WK 421 item 10 (Fig. 5b), with the ends ornamented with tufts of yellow feathers. Examples from male bundles designated as EIP 1A usually have a red background of paired elements with the 'rep' bands in dark green, dark blue, purple or yellow-gold. In a few examples, these other colors are used instead for the background. The more elaborate and better-preserved examples may have the ends covered in sleeves of looping ending in tubular 'fingers'. While some examples have not been extended

20. Yacovleff and Muelle 1934, fig. 15 p. 119.

21. Peters and Tomasto 2017, fig. 16 p. 430.



Figure 6. Men's tapestry headbands: (a) WK 89 item 7, part of the headdress of the outer display layer, MNAHP RT183; (b) WK 38 item 8, part of the headdress of the outer display layer, MNAHP RT 3739; photos Maria Jhong/ MNAHP.

for measurement, these headbands also may be over three meters long.

As analyzed by Frame (1991), oblique interlaced bands in later contexts, designated as EIP 2, have surfaces dominated by compact single-faced bands that create diverse textured patterns, exemplified by WK 38 items 6 and 7 (Fig. 5c).<sup>22</sup> This headband style, with looped end finishes, was found arranged on the head of WK 23 (Peters and Tomasto 2016, fig. 16 p. 430) while a similar band wrapped the 'false head' in the outer display layer. Two Nasca-related bundles have headbands worked in sections of different colors: WK 38 item 43 (Fig. 5e), two cm. wide and almost 4.5 meters in length, is worked in eight sections with different color combinations that each end in a three-dimensional looped snake head. Similarly, WK 451 item 3a is worked in segments ending in tubular looped 'fingers' that transform each into a image of a headband.<sup>23</sup> In late bundles designated as EIP 2, wide oblique interlaced headbands dominated by diagonal 'rep' bands appear without looped end finishes. WK 318, WK

319 and WK 298 have wider, shorter headbands worked in relatively dark hues of red, green, purple-blue and brown and others worked in bright pastel hues – hallmarks of different Nasca-related styles.

Tapestry bands (Fig. 6) appear in several male mortuary bundles designated as EIP 1A, 1B or 2, usually in a fragmentary state. Three relatively well-preserved examples have been documented, all combining several motifs on a red background. WK 217 item 35 was wrapped around the head of the man and secured his hair in a topknot.<sup>24</sup> Components of the headdress in the outer display layer, WK 89 item 6 alternates three types of motifs: a pair of horizontal figures linked by a serpentine appendage, a double-headed serrated serpentine-insect figure, and a human figure carrying a staff.<sup>25</sup> WK 89 item 7 (Fig. 6a) alternates five motifs: a set of six stepped blocks, a condor figure with head bent back, a rayed head, a double-headed serpent and a profile spotted feline, similar in style to the band in WK 217. WK 38 item 8 (Fig. 6b) depicts a series

22. Frame 1991, figs. 29-40 pp. 147-171. Also see MNAHP p. 122 fig. 34.

23. Kajitani 1982, fig. 39; Lavallée 2008, fig. 78, pp. 193; Verde 2009, fig. 75, pp. 147.

24. Yacovleff and Muelle fig 16 p. 121.

25. Paul 1990 plate 5.



Figure 7. Men's sling-form headdress elements: (a) WK 91 item 54, maguey fiber sling with complete functional components, MNAAHP RT3443; (b) WK 91 item 56, sling with a human hair ornament replacing the maguey fiber tassel, MNAAHP RT3442; (c) WK 217 item 47, maguey headdress element with sling-form components and looped tassel cover, MNAAHP RT5675; (d) WK 253 item 45a, maguey headdress band composed of sling tassels and pairs of braided cords, MNAAHP RT931; (e) WK 89 item 10, sling with yellow feathers replacing the maguey fiber tassel, MNAAHP RT6416; (f) WK 23 item 15, sling-form headdress ornament of maguey and human hair, MNAAHP; photos A. H. Peters.

of profile felines with a mouth appendage ending in a human head, with sporadic substitutions of a horizontal anthropomorphic figure with two short and one long head appendage, as well as a mouth appendage ending in a human head. The figure styles in these tapestry bands combines elements of Linear and Broad Line mode design, with figure styles reminiscent of polychrome double cloth textiles found in the Nasca region.

Sling-form headbands (Fig. 7) are ubiquitous among the Wari Kayan male mortuary bundles, and also vary over time. Functional slings (Fig. 7a, 7e) are braided of maguey

fiber cordage, with a ring of cotton yarns at the end retained in the hand, a diamond-shaped 'basket' to hold the projectile and a tassel of braided and bound maguey fiber<sup>26</sup> at the end released.<sup>27</sup> Variable spin direction indicates that the maguey fiber was added and twisted as the object was made, which facilitated the separation and union of braided elements to create the 'basket'. Slings found near the body in early male bundles may have been part of the individual's headdress. In later male bundles, functional slings continue to be present, and also elements of slings such as a series of 'baskets' or tassels are combined to create headdress ornaments (Fig.

26. Probably *Furcraea occidentalis*, a South American agave species.

27. Yacovleff and Muelle 1934 pp. 113-4.

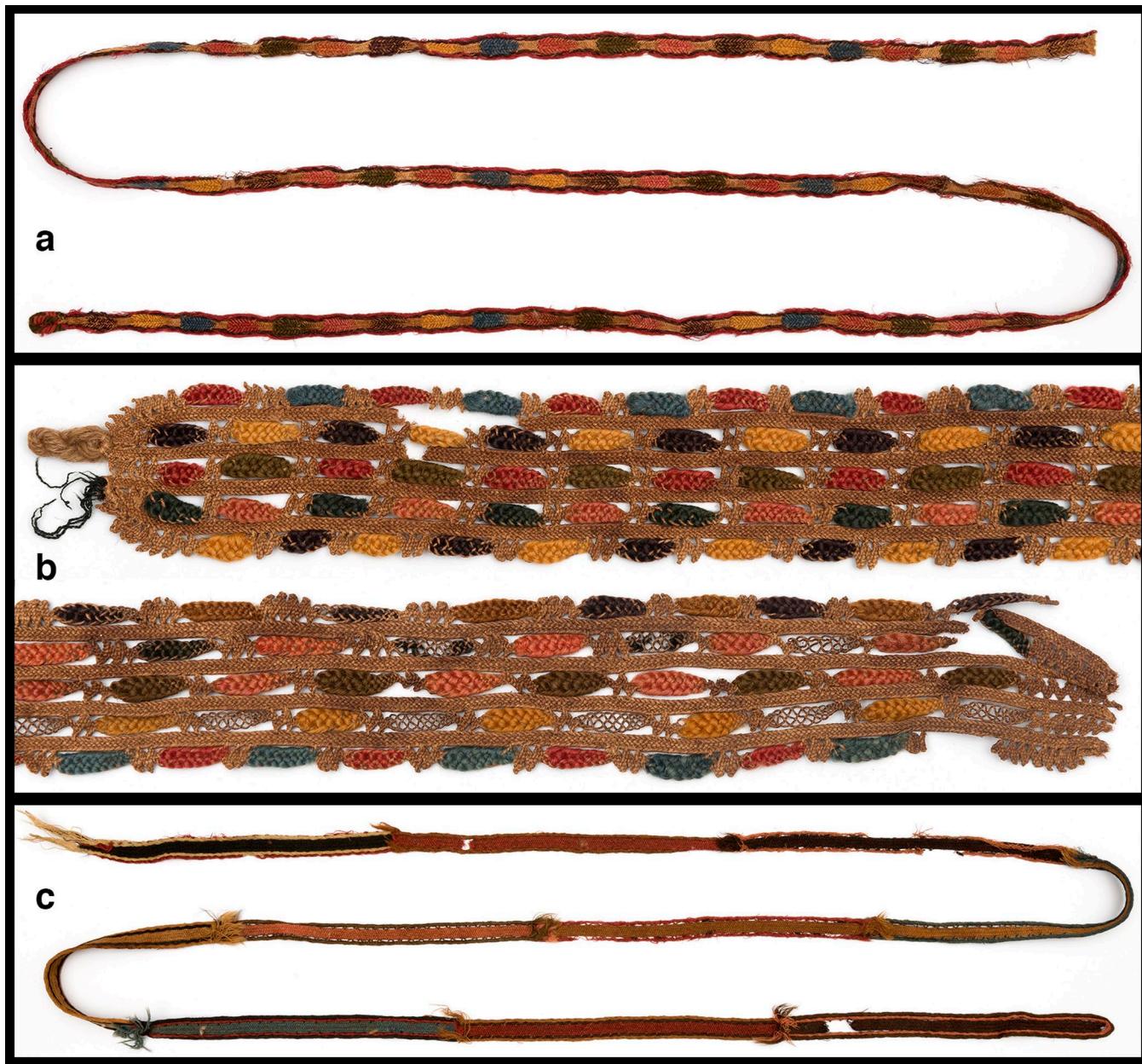


Figure 8. Headdress elements combining maguey fiber and dyed camelid hair: WK 253 item 29, MNAAHP RT2574; WK 253 item 28, MNAAHP RT1876; WK 253 item 35, MNAAHP RT2575; photos Maria Jhong/ MNAAHP.

7b, 7c), sometimes documented on the head. Human hair is used to ornament the sling tassel in WK 91 (Fig. 7b), and combined with maguey fiber in a sling-form ornament in WK 23 (Fig. 7f).

In the late bundle WK 253, a group of maguey fiber headdress bands (Fig. 8) are created using complex flat braiding techniques and incorporate camelid hair yarns or twisted fiber in bright colors, including examples divided in long sections of different colors (Fig. 8c), a form reminiscent of the

sectioned headband in WK 451. Each of the mortuary bundles designated as EIP 2 contains a form of headdress element found in no other bundle at Wari Kayan. These late contexts are associated with unusually large numbers of artifacts created to be worn by an individual or wrapped around the apex of the bundle, none of them designed to match another garment. These changes suggest a shift in the aspects of social identity expressed by headdress ornaments in mortuary ritual, and very likely also in other social contexts.

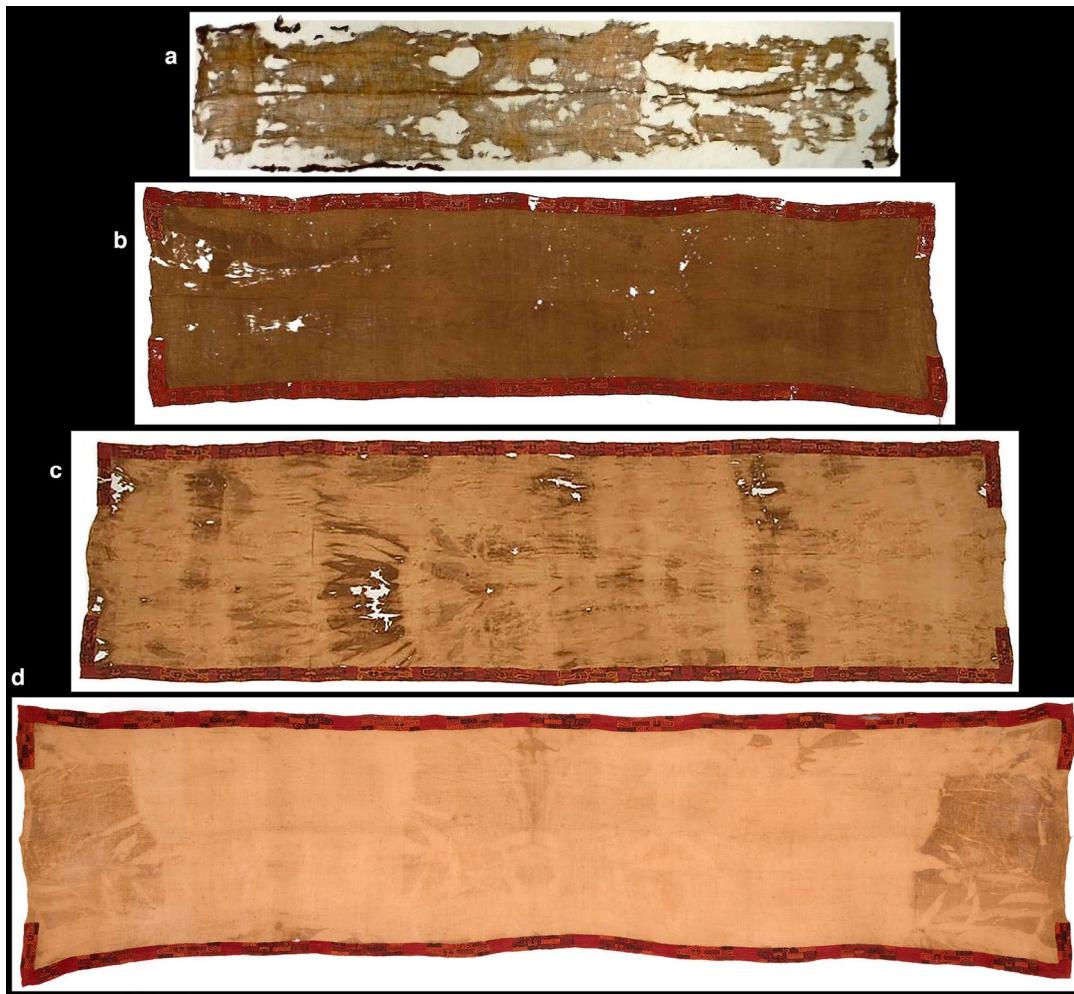


Figure 9. Headcloth form 1: (a) WK 199 item 43c, wrapped around the man's head under headband 43a and headcloth 43b, MNAHP RT18671, photo A. H. Peters. (b) WK 147 item 31, wrapped around the man's head over headcloth 32, MNAHP RT2688; photo Maria Jhong/ MNAHP. (c) WK 114 item 50a, wrapped around the top of the bundle over proto-Nasca style headcloth 50b in a display layer sealed within the bundle, AMNH 41.2/8787; photo AMNH. (d) WK 157 item 30, part of a display layer with many headdress elements, sealed within the bundle, MNAHP RT1396, photo Maria Jhong/ MNAHP.

## Headcloths

The majority of Paracas Necropolis headcloths are long and relatively narrow, constructed of two seamed panels of fine, loosely woven 1:1 plain weave with narrow Linear mode embroidered borders on the sides (weft selvages) with bracket-like extensions on the ends (loom end or warp selvages). This type of headcloth may be twisted and wrapped around the head of a male individual<sup>28</sup> or the 'false head' of a male or female mortuary bundle, and is the most common form in early Wari Kayan mortuary contexts. Examples woven of natural cotton range from about 2.25 to 2.75 meters in length and 50 to 70 cm. in width, while examples woven of dyed camelid hair range from about 1.25 to 1.75 meters in length and about 40 to 45 cm. in width. The latter appear

in later contexts, associated with other distinctions in style and range of motifs suggesting that they represent a different production tradition.

Early forms of this headcloth form 1 (Fig. 9) are woven with fine over-spun cotton yarns, with the final twist in either the S or Z direction. Natural cotton colors vary from cream white to beige, ochre, or a silvery light brown. While the tubular (and sometimes kinked) look resembles a single ply yarn, close examination of some examples reveals that two elements have been joined, though an initial spin direction may not be visible. In the two superimposed headcloths in early bundle WK 199, the cloth is very loose and flexible and the embroidered figures difficult to discern (Fig. 9a). Well-preserved examples in EH 10 male bundles such as WK 147 item 31 (Fig. 9b) and WK 114 item 50a (Fig. 9c)

28. Peters and Tomasto 2017, fig. 14 p. 428.

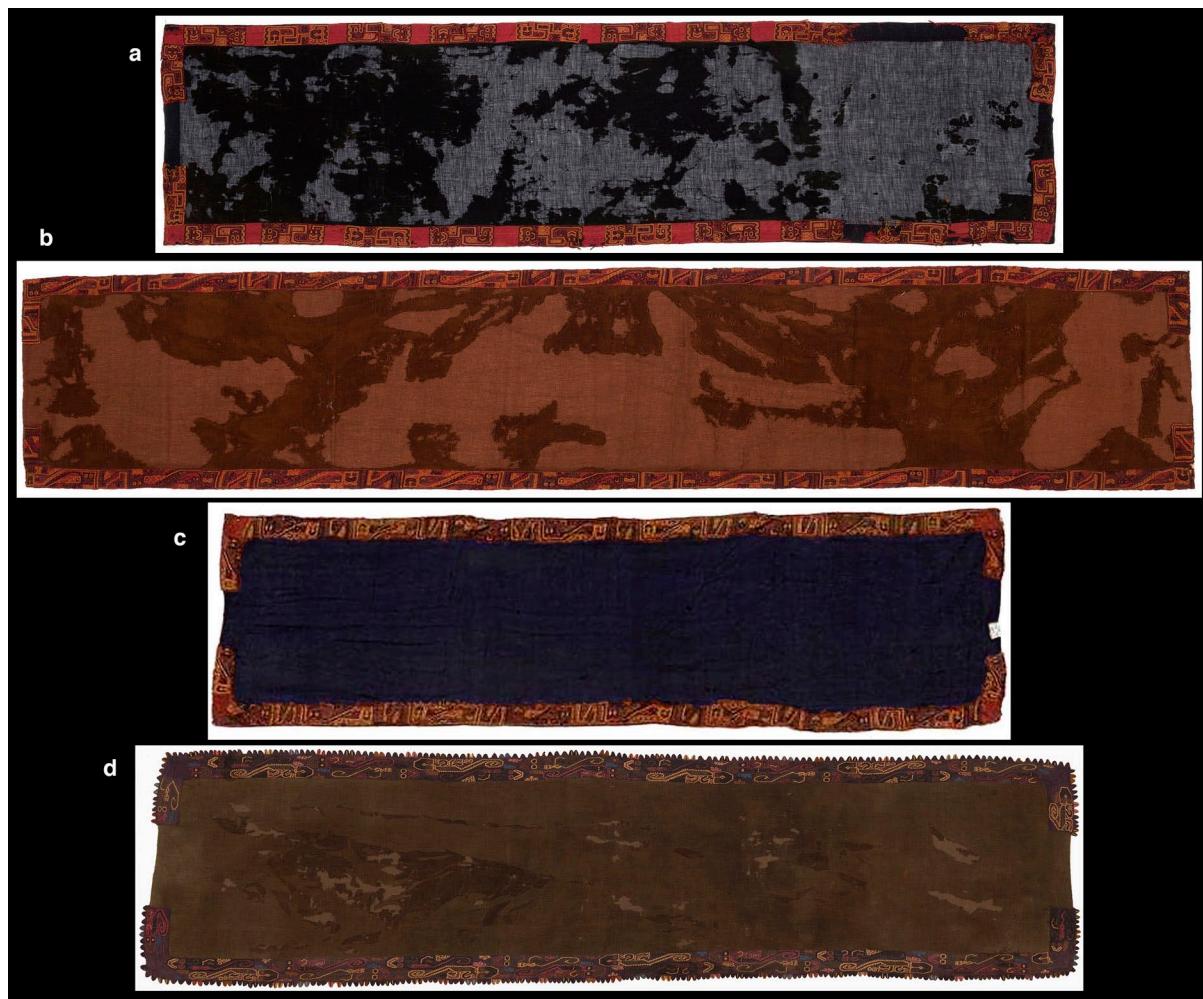


Figure 10. Headcloth form 1 variants from EIP 1A contexts: (a) WK 94 item 46, found with a pin of raptor feathers in a display layer sealed within the bundle, MNAHP RT5939; (b) WK 421 item 68a, part of a display layer sealed within the bundle, MNAHP RT2612; photos Maria Jhong/ MNAHP. (c) WK 12 item 382-51, with color reconstructed (original dark blue cloth was poorly preserved), MNAHP RT3918; based on MNAHP catalogue photo. (d) WK12 item 382-50a, originally a darker green, with headcloth 51 forms one of three pairs of headcloths in the second display layer arranged over the man, MNAHP RT2831; photo Maria Jhong/ MNAHP.

define a distinctive Linear mode style group (Peters' Linear 2) with figures developed within a rectangle alternating with areas of the background color, stitch direction changing on a diagonal at each corner and a unique edge binding that incorporates three rows of darned 'plain weave' instead of looping.<sup>29</sup> This type of headcloth continues to be common in transitional bundles such as WK 49, WK 94 and WK 157 (Fig. 9d) as well as predominantly EIP 1A bundles such as WK 16 and WK 421, where it diversifies in form and component materials.

In male bundles transitional to EIP1A, headcloth form 1 appears with a wider range of component materials, color schemes, imagery and forms of edge binding (Fig. 10). The cloth may be woven of either natural cotton or dark blue

camelid hair yarn, the borders may be a bit wider, and some edge finishes incorporate looping rather than a darned finish. Linear 2 design (Fig. 10a) continues, but also continuous Linear 'twisted strand' motifs appear, linking the headcloth to a mantle or garment set featuring the same motifs (Figs. 10b, 10c). Among bundles designated as EIP 1A, new background colors appear such as dark green, blue-purple or yellow-gold, and Linear 2 embroidery appear for the first time on other garment types, such as unkuña tunics. Among mortuary bundles transitional to EIP 1B, headcloth form 1 may be woven of dyed cotton. In WK 378 item 16 and WK 12 (382) item 50a (Fig. 10d), headcloths with Linear mode borders depict motifs adapted from Block Color imagery on other garments in the bundle, in the wider range

29. Paul 1982; Peters 1997; Peters 2014a, fig. 4-2.



Figure 11. Mosaic style headcloths from early contexts: (a) WK 113 item 4, draped over the head of the woman, AMNH 41.2/8839b; (b) WK 352 item 29, fragmentary headcloth border, MRI DB-04; (c) WK 352 item 61, fragmentary headcloth border, MRI DB-19; (d) WK 352 item 74, fragmentary headcloth border, MRI DB-14; (e) WK 352 item 64, headcloth border with figures resembling a geoglyph in the Ica valley, MRI DB-09; (f) WK 352 item 70, headcloth border, MRI DB-23; photos A. H. Peters.

of colors present on those embroideries.<sup>30</sup> Features like a looped tab fringe, or tiny figures embroidered on the central panel, link these hybrid headcloths to later or more Nasca-influenced types of headcloths in these contexts, and also in later male bundles.

Throughout the Paracas-Nasca transition there are other headcloth forms present, some associated with 'outsider' styles and several associated with female bundles. One style group, largely known from fragmentary examples, has wider borders with a continuous, diagonally organized 'mosaic' pattern of Linear mode motifs (Fig. 11), shown here in

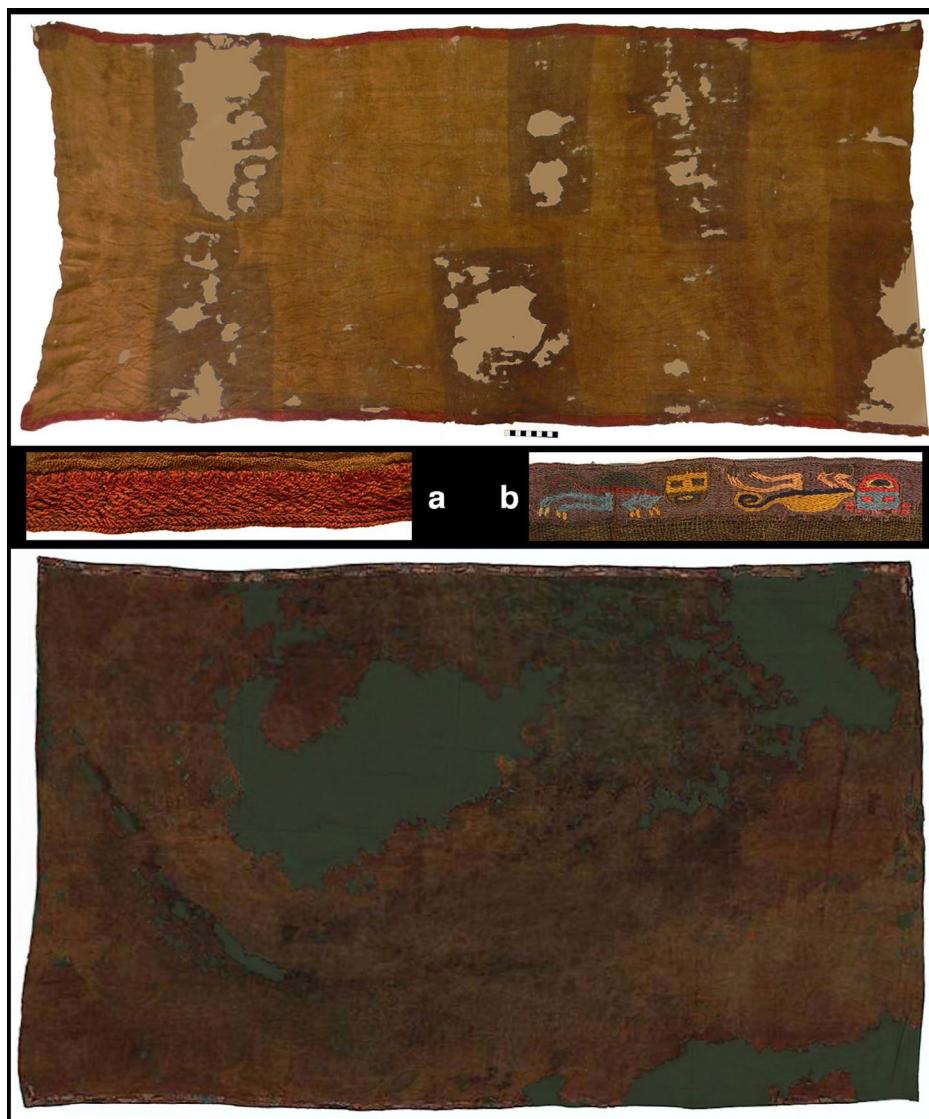
examples from the EH 10 female bundle WK 113 (Fig. 11a) and the gender-ambiguous, Ocuaje-related bundle WK 352 (Figs. 11b-11f). Several of these headcloths with continuous border patterning can be considered 'proto-Nasca' in style, though they appear in well-documented contexts designated as EH 10. One group (Fig. 11c, 11d) depicts figures in simple, largely monochrome styles intermediate between the Linear and Block Color modes, including some of the earliest textile examples of motifs that appear on Ocuaje 10B ceramics. A motif in an unusual Linear style (Fig. 11e) closely resembles a late Paracas geoglyph in the Ica region.

30. Lavallée 2008, fig. 72 p. 181; Verde 2009, fig. 69 p. 136.

Figure 12. Headcloth form 2:

(a) WK 352 item 94, one of three similar headcloths in inner display layers of this unusual trans-gendered context, MRI DB-25; photo A. H. Peters.

(b) WK 28 item 24, one of four similar headcloths grouped in an inner display layer, MNAAHP RT2852; photo Maria Jhong/ MNAAHP.



Wide headcloths (Fig. 12) are composed of two seamed panels that total about 95 cm. to 1 m. wide, with very narrow borders (1.5 cm). One group of unusually wide headcloths in bundle WK 352, items 75, 77 and 78, has red borders embroidered in the Linear 2 style.<sup>31</sup> Another distinctive group of headcloths in WK 352 (Fig. 12a) has narrow monochrome borders with 'twisted strand' images created by patterns in the stitch direction.<sup>32</sup> Created with over-spun ochre cotton yarns with a final S or Z direction, the two seamed panels create a headcloth 77 to 82 cm. wide and between 175 and 195 cm. in length. Similar to headcloth form 1, these wide headcloths had been wrapped, turban-like, around the apex of the mortuary bundle.

Later female bundles, designated as EIP 1, are also

adorned by wide headcloths. WK 28 item 24 (Fig. 12b), typical in form, is one of six similar headcloths superimposed around the apex of an inner layer of the bundle. About 1.65 to 1.70 m. in length and 95 cm to 1 m. in width, it is composed by two seamed panels of loosely woven, often dyed S(2z) cotton edged by narrow borders, less than two cm. in width. These headcloths feature a purple or green background with tiny Block Color mode figures of birds, felines or other Nasca-related imagery.<sup>33</sup> Their Nasca-related color schemes and imagery contrasts with the red-dominant four-color Linear mode embroidery or woven borders of most other garments in a group of approximately contemporary female mortuary bundles, including WK 1 and WK 234.

31. Peters 2014a, fig. 4-2a, b.

32. Peters 2014a, fig. 4-3a, b.

33. Peters 2014a, fig. 4-3c, d.

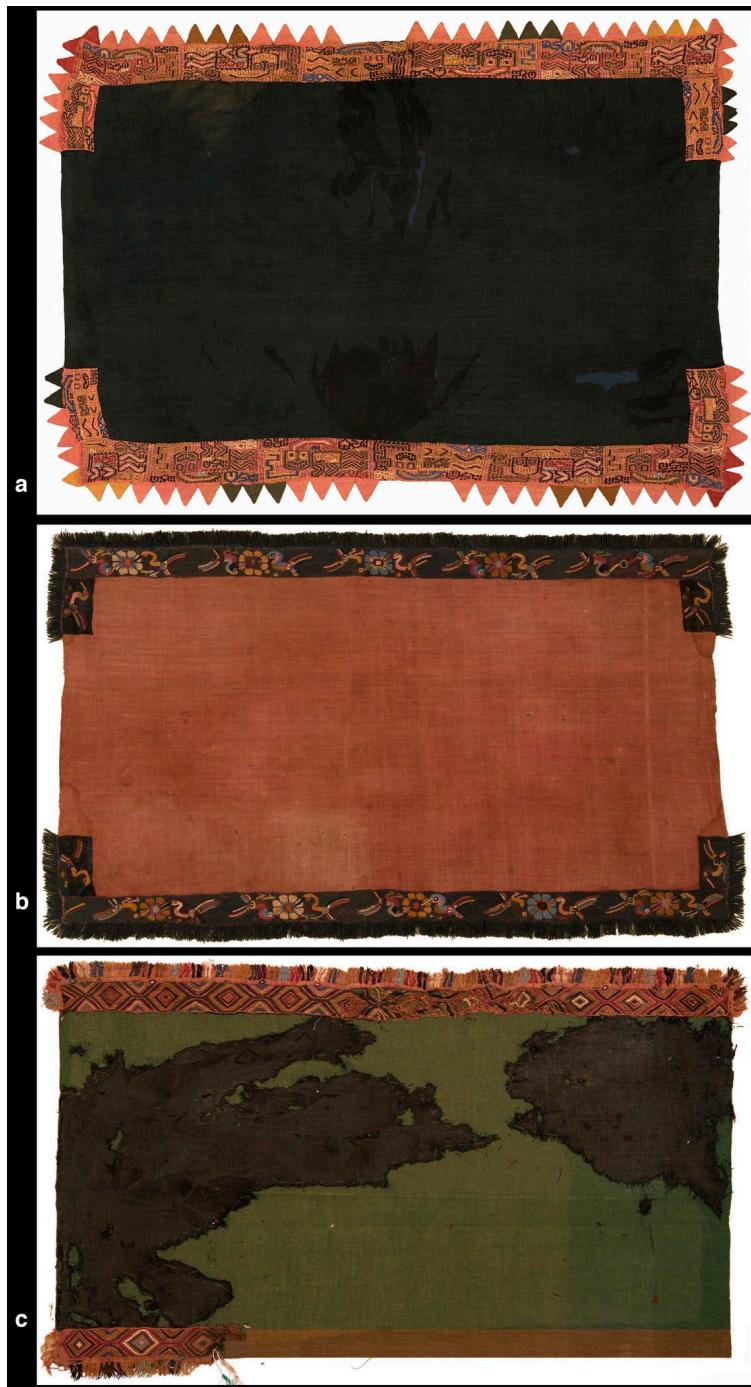


Figure 13. Headcloth form 3, examples from garment sets placed on inner display layers in EIP 1B male mortuary bundles: (a) WK 310 item 33, MNAAHP RT793; (b) WK 262 item 20, RT1449; (c) WK 262 item 40, MNAAHP RT2911; photo Maria Jhong/ MNAAHP.

34. See Kajitani 1982, fig. 38.

35. WK 12, WK 190 and WK 292 form part of a group of bundles with numbers switched by Tello in 1928, to avoid sending unique contexts to be opened in Seville as part of the Iberoamerican Exposition of 1929, so the inventory numbers created when the bundle was opened do not match the original excavation number.

36. Peters 2010 fig. 23 p. 222-3.

37. Aponte 2006; Tello 1959, plates LXVIII- LXXVIII, Tello and Mejía 1979, figs. 106 and 109-111 pp. 398-402.

Among male bundles designated at EIP 1B, a shorter type of headcloth (form 3) becomes common, usually woven with dyed camelid hair (Fig. 13). Usually less than a meter in length, these headcloths range from about 33 to 40cm. in width, woven of a single panel. Most have 'bracket' shaped embroidered borders with Block Color figures as well as the types of fringe present on contemporary mantles and other garment types. This headcloth form often appears as part of a garment set, and can be as diverse in color and ornament as any other type of garment.<sup>34</sup> WK 310 item 33 (Fig. 13a) appears to pay homage to traditional headcloth border design, but is embroidered on a Nasca-related type of purple cloth and edged by a triangular looped fringe. WK 262 item 20 (Fig. 13b) is early Nasca in both technique and design, depicting paired hummingbirds around a flower and edged by a fine plied fringe created directly on the garment margin. WK 262 item 40 (Fig. 13c) has continuous patterning and plied fringe on lateral borders without bracket ends, traits atypical of the Wari Kayan assemblage.

A long, narrow headcloth (form 4), based on a single woven panel of dyed camelid hair, has wide straight lateral borders (Fig. 14a-b). This form has been documented only in WK 292 and WK 190, both male mortuary contexts that include unusual, Nasca-related textiles.<sup>35</sup> WK 292, designated as EIP 1A, has an inner display layer wrapped in an extraordinary mantle, item 190-17, embroidered with diverse figures that all face in the same direction.<sup>36</sup> In the layer below, headcloth 190-28 (Fig. 14a), a panel of dark blue camelid hair 1.85 m. by 30 cm. embroidered with wide red borders with unfinished Linear mode imagery, was found together with a matching unkuña tunic. WK 190, designated as EIP 1B, contained the famous painted 'Calendar Mantle' 290-45 and 'casulla' tunic panel 290-13.<sup>37</sup> Headcloths 290-48 (Fig. 14b) and 290-49, juxtaposed in an inner display layer near the 'Calendar Mantle', are each about 33 cm. wide and

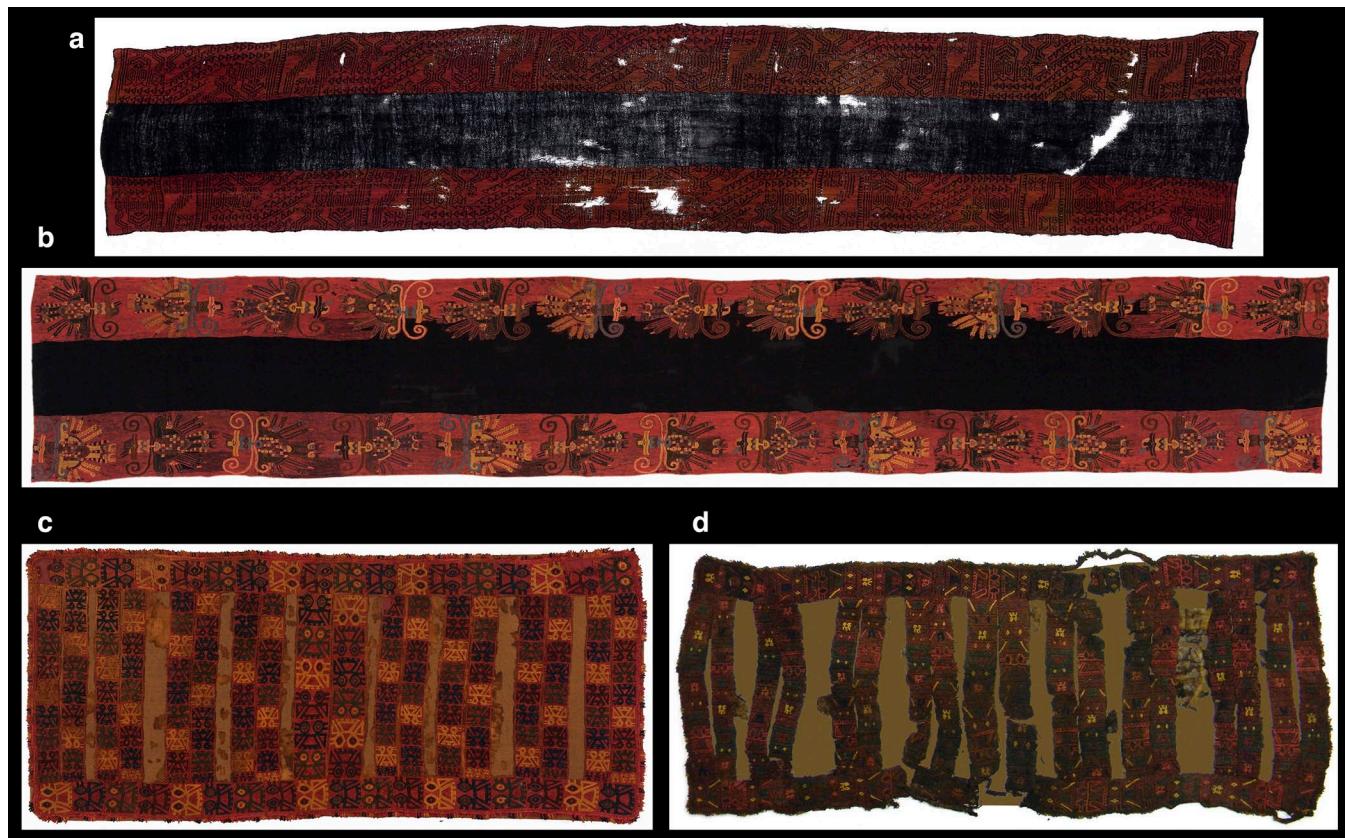


Figure 14. Headcloths form 4 and 5: (a) Form 4: WK 292 item 190-28, part of an inner layer of the mortuary bundle, MNAHP RT1782; (b) WK 190 item 290-48, part of an inner layer of the mortuary bundle, MNAHP RT4561; photos Maria Jhong/ MNAHP. Form 5: (c) WK 190 item 290-62 (or 67), headcloth over the individual's head, MNAHP RT2593; photo Maria Jhong/ MNAHP. (d) WK188 item 12, part of an inner layer of the mortuary bundle, AMNH 41.2/8873; photo A. H. Peters.

respectively 2.14 and 2.44 m. in length, embroidered in the Block Color mode. They each form part of a garment set, which correspond to two mantles of the outer display layer.<sup>38</sup> These headcloths demonstrate continuity in an emblematic style that sporadically has been placed in the Necropolis of Wari Kayan, apparently coming from an outside producer community closely linked to the early Nasca tradition.

An intriguing type of headcloth (form 5), present in only a few male bundles designated as EIP 1B, has proportions and embroidery layout resembling a woman's mantle but differs in being smaller in scale, embroidered on fine loosely woven cotton cloth, and edged with a plied yarn fringe (Fig. 14c-d). WK 188 item 12 (Fig. 14d) has lateral borders and transverse bands with two wider bands flanking the central axis, a unique feature of the woman's mantle.<sup>39</sup> The beige cotton panel, about 27 cm in width and 68 cm. long, is

embroidered with Linear mode two-headed birds on a purple background. Placed over the head of the man in WK 190, headcloth 290-62<sup>40</sup> (Fig. 14c) has a panel of beige cotton about 29 by 67 cm., embroidered in a 'heritage style' with Broad Line double-headed bird figures, which match a second headcloth beneath that also resembles a reduced-scale heritage mantle. These headcloths have been embroidered in Paracas-related styles characteristic of contexts designated EH 10B, but the colors, yarn characteristics, and other production details indicate that they were produced later. Their similarities in form and motif suggest a social link between these adjacent mortuary contexts, though other garment types, embroidery styles and headdress elements in these two bundles are dissimilar. In the later EIP 2 bundle WK 319, headcloth 24 is similar in its proportions and the organization of its embroidered decoration, but does not imitate the unique features of the woman's mantle.

38. Aponte 2006; Lavallée 2008, fig. 13 pp. 90-93, fig. 14-16, pp. 96-100; MNAHP 2013, fig. 31, pp. 116-6, fig. 81, pp. 152-3, figs. 89-91 pp. 162-5; Verde 2009, figs. 18-20 pp. 72-5, fig. 68 pp. 132-5.

39. Peters and Tomasto 2017, fig. 7 p. 394.

40. Aponte 2006; Lavallée 2008, fig. 43, pp. 119; MNAHP 2013, p. 121 fig. 33.



Figure 15. (a) Headcloth form 6, part of the group of garments termed 'anako' in Tello's research notes and inventories, WK 38 item 39c, grouped with other anako type garments in an inner layer of this early EIP 2 mortuary bundle, MNAAHP RT2936; photo Maria Jhong/ MNAAHP. (b) Early Nasca style headcloth, WK 318 item 3, placed atop the outer display layer of this late EIP 2 mortuary bundle, MNAAHP RT1231; photo Maria Jhong/ MNAAHP.

from 60 cm. to 95 cm. in width while only 95 cm. to 1.25 m. in length. The headcloths are distinguished by fine, relatively loosely woven cotton cloth, which often has been dyed and is found in a fragmentary state.

Among the male mortuary bundles created in the final phase of the Wari Kayan cemetery, headcloths in Nasca-related styles appear on the apex of the bundle in the final display layer. This represents a change in practice, as among the earlier bundles, particularly Nasca-related textiles were hidden beneath headcloths and mantles in more common Wari Kayan styles. For example, a fine, deteriorated headcloth embroidered in early Nasca techniques, colors and motifs originally covered the headbands and hairpiece of WK 319 item 3 (Fig. 5e). It was preserved as a border fragment associated with other elements that crowned the

outer display layer, removed for conservation, and re-associated in 2006.<sup>43</sup>

The adjacent mortuary bundle, WK 318, appears to be the latest complex male bundle documented in the Necropolis of Wari Kayan and was crowned by headcloth 3 (Fig. 15b).<sup>44</sup> Like others in the EIP 2 Wari Kayan mortuary bundles, this headcloth is relatively small, totaling 53 cm in width by 84 cm in length. It is an early Nasca textile. Diagnostic features include bicolor yarns, including brown and beige yarns plied and used to weave the central panel.

Headcloth form 6 (Fig. 15a) recurs in male mortuary bundles designated EIP 1B or EIP 2. It forms part of a garment system with small mantles, headcloths, loincloths<sup>41</sup> and tunics with continuous embroidered borders on all garment margins, termed Anako in most of the 20<sup>th</sup> century unwrapping notes and inventories. This garment system has formal similarities to garments excavated at Cahuachi by Kroeber in 1926,<sup>42</sup> including loincloths identified by Frame (2007). Similar in their proportions to the 'Anako' mantles and loincloths, the headcloths are relatively short and wide, ranging

41. Frame 2007 p. 69 fig. 9.

42. O'Neale 1937, plate XXXIVa.

43. See Paul 1990 plate 6 for arrangement circa 1980, and MNAAHP 2013 fig. 93 p. 168 for current arrangement.

44. Previously published in Kajitani 1982, fig 37; MNAAHP 2013, fig. 84 pp. 156-7.

Double-faced embroidery is used to create the stepped lines and flowers there, while the yarn fringe has been created directly on the warp end selvages. Yet another diagnostic Nasca feature is the independently constructed looped figurative border constructed on separately woven bands, depicting birds. A row of looped tabs on its inner margin is stitched to the edges of the central cloth. Despite these diverse Nasca-related features, this headcloth differs in style from those recurrent in Nasca 3 contexts, either because it is somewhat earlier or because it was created elsewhere. The Brooklyn Museum's "Paracas Textile," said to have ornamented the apex of a male mortuary bundle excavated in Arena Blanca prior to 1923, is perhaps the most famous headcloth in an early Nasca style found atop a mortuary bundle at the Paracas site.<sup>45</sup>

### Hair styles, caps and fringes

Hair arrangements are an important aspect of the headdress, as well as the personal identity still visible in the initial postmortem ritual. The men and women at the core of the Wari Kayan mortuary bundles have fairly diverse hair arrangements. Some arrangements, such as shoulder-length hair interspersed with small braids or more carefully arranged rows of five or more neat, tight braids, are worn by both men and women. Men wearing oblique interlaced headbands or with their hair bound by a skein of yarn, sling or cord typically have their hair pulled forward into a top-knot, often over their right temple. The man in WK 12 (a bundle opened as 382) wore a moustache, while WK 52 and at least one other man are described as wearing a beard.<sup>46</sup> Like tattooing and face painting, these aspects were covered by cloth in the first phase of mortuary ritual, but are carefully depicted on some 'warrior' figures in contemporary embroidered and painted imagery.

Ornaments created with human hair or dark hues of camelid hair become important in contexts designated as EIP 1A, and they become more common and more elaborate in contexts where Nasca influence appears to be more dominant and direct. Where camelid hair is used in these artifacts, the long, relatively straight, coarse fiber and the hues of dark brown or grey appear to imitate human hair, and can be difficult to distinguish without close examination.

Caps created using looping or knotting techniques (Fig. 16a and 16b) appear in male bundles designated as EIP 1B. In several cases, the individual is described as balding in the



Figure 16. Cap-like headdress elements from EIP 1B male contexts: (a) and (b) WK 89 items 46 and 47, looped caps of camelid hair and human hair, MAAHP RT2941, RT2942; (c) WK 89 item 11, bag or headdress element with bands of more compact knotting creating a diamond pattern, MAAHP RT113; WK 190 item 290-28, S-spun, unevenly Z-plied human hair cords joined in two bands of loose oblique interlace, ornamented by *Spondylus* sp. shell beads with an organic adhesive, tubular looped camelid hair bands and feathers, MAAHP RT2524; photos A. H. Peters.

unwrapping notes or dissection protocol. Three hemispheric caps of close simple looping in WK 89 are almost identical<sup>47</sup> but two are made with spun and plied human hair and one of dark brown camelid hair. A cap found in WK 451 is described and illustrated as more complex in structure, including side flaps decorated with feathers.<sup>48</sup> In the contemporary tomb WK 190, item 290-28 may have originally formed part of this genre of headdress, recovered in the form of two

45. Brooklyn Museum 38.121, published, for example, in Harcourt 1934 plates 88-104 Tello 1959, plate LXXIX, Kajitani 1982, fig. 48; Lavallée 2008, pp. 210-211.

46. See, for example, Tello and Mejía 1979, p. 453.

47. Paul 1991, fig 19 p. 195-6.

48. Tello 1959, fig. 44 p. 289). WK 190 item 290-28 (Figure 15d; also see Aponte 2006.



Figure 17. Plied and braided hair ornaments from EIP 2 male mortuary bundle: (a) WK 318 item C, Z-plied human hair fringe, MNAAHP RT25883; (b) WK 319 item 95, S-plied cotton and human hair fringe, MNAAHP RT4154; (c) WK 253 item 54, Z-plied cotton and human hair fringe, MNAAHP RT1578; (d) WK 253 item 58, band of multiple layers of Z-plied human hair fringe, MNAAHP RT3893; (e) WK 319 item 20, oblique interlaced hair band, MNAAHP RT3440; photos A. H. Peters.

bands each composed of a row of locks of human hair decorated with diagonal lines of shell disks, encased near the bottom in a sleeve of fine close looping of unusual design and continuing in the form of a fringe ornamented with feathers (Fig. 16d). Their structure is also related to human hair fringes discussed below.

Small hammock-shaped or bag-like objects of simple knotted netting in natural cotton fiber are often found close to the body of male individuals. These often appear to be freshly made and unused, and come in a range of forms.<sup>49</sup> Hammock-shaped knotted headdresses are associated with Paracas Tradition contexts in the Cerro Colorado tombs and at Ocucaje. We recorded one on the head of the man in mortuary bundle Arena Blanca 4, corresponding to the Paracas Necropolis mortuary tradition and designated as EIP 1B.<sup>50</sup> Two caps constructed with decorative knotting patterns were recovered in WK 89: item 11 (Fig. 16c) has diamond shaped designs, while item 43 has a more complex knotted pattern creating dorsal insect-bird figures.<sup>51</sup> These complex knotted caps are unique among the mortuary bundles documented to date. Other unique artifact types found in WK 89 include embroidered cloths folded and stitched into a triangle, interpreted by Paul as a type of loincloth but which also might be a headdress element. The diversity of forms of regalia and the concentration of particular types in

a single tomb or in only two or three of those studied suggests diverse social origins of both the individuals and their mortuary assemblages.

Masses of human hair, twisted skeins, plied or braided cords, and fringes bound to a cotton cord (Fig. 17) are interrelated artifacts included in the later male bundles. Differences in the color, thickness of strands and other characteristics indicate that they are made from the hair of individuals other than the person at the core of the mortuary bundle. The use of human hair in some sling-form headdress elements, discussed above, may be related. While trophy heads have not been identified to date in any Wari Kayan gravelot, objects of human hair may play an analogous role; they bring the power of another individual into a ritual context. Complete human hair fringes have been identified in WK 190 and in three male mortuary bundles designated as EIP 2. The fringe structure and production practices, well as human hair cords placed in the same bundle, vary among the mortuary contexts: WK 190, WK 318 (Fig. 17a) and WK 253 (Figs. 17c and 17d) have fringes of hanks of hair doubled, bound and twisted into short Z-plied cords (in some cases incorporating cotton yarns), the hair hanging loose below, while WK 319 has S-ply cords (Fig. 17b), 3-strand braids (Figs. 5e) and oblique interlaced bands (Fig. 17e). Fringes of the plied type can be combined to construct a hemispheric wig.<sup>52</sup>

49. See Yacovleff and Muelle 1934, fig. 17 pp. 121-4.

50. Peters and Tomasto 2015, pp 318-319..

51. Paul 1990, figs. 37 and 38 pp. 212-3.

52. MNAAHP 2013, fig. 95 p. 170.

Figure 18. Wig-like headdresses of locks of hair and feathers attached to a looped structure:

- (a) WK 226 item 3, crowned the outer display layer of a woman's mortuary bundle, MNAAHP RT7091;
- (b) WK 26 item 2, crowned the outer display layer of a man's mortuary bundle, MNAAHP RT37687;
- (c) WK 188 item 3, crowned the outer display layer of a man's mortuary bundle, over a crescent-shaped reed headress with brown and yellow feathers, AMNH 41.2/8864; photos A. H. Peters.



The 'false head' of a mortuary bundle can be crowned by a wig-like headdress, which combines a looped cap-like structure with hair fringe, and is associated with feathered ornaments (Fig. 18). The outer display layer of the female bundle WK 226 was topped by a looped cap decorated with Z-plied cords of human hair decorated with yellow feathers (Fig. 18a) and a similar cap was found on an inner display layer.<sup>53</sup> WK 26 item 2 (Fig. 18b) is a cap similar in structure

with more prominent featherwork, though not as well preserved, placed on the outer display layer of a male bundle designated as EIP 1A. WK 188 item 3 (Fig. 18c) is a looped cap decorated with doubled and bound hanks of gray-brown hair, possibly camelid, placed on the apex of the outer display layer of this EIP 1B male bundle over another headdress ornament of fine reeds decorated with brown and yellow feathers.

53. Vreeland ms. 1975, consulted in the library and archive of the MNAAHP.



Figure 19. Feathered headdress pins and bird or animal effigies: (a) WK 400 item 6a, wood pin with raptor and parrot feathers, MAAHP RT3021; (b) WK 421 item 6a, cane pin with oropendola feathers, MAAHP RT3022; (c) WK 94 item 6, bone pin with oropendola feathers, MAAHP RT2959; (d) Arena Blanca 4 item 20, gull beak in looped cylinder, MAAHP MO3927; (e) WK 147 item 38, wood pin with parrot feathers, MAAHP RT5300; (f) WK 292 item 190-9, wood pin with brown feathers, MAAHP RT6634; (g) Arena Blanca 157 item 4, assorted triangular pendants and mask with a fox muzzle, skin covered with adhesive and parrot feathers, MAAHP RT24930; (h) WK 258 item 2, bone pin with puna ibis feathers, MAAHP RT6434; photos A. H. Peters.

#### Animal and bird headdress elements

Yacovleff (1933) provides an excellent analysis of feathered headdress ornaments. Peters and Tomasto (1917) review some additional artifacts from mortuary contexts unopened at the time Yacovleff wrote. The composition of the feathered pins and tassels inserted into men's headdresses (Fig. 19) changes over time, with blue and yellow macaw (*Ara*

*ararauna*) important in bundles designated as EH 10 and raptor feathers and mealy parrots (*Amazona* sp.) becoming prominent in bundles designated as EIP 1 and 2. Some contemporary bundles, such as WK 94 and WK 421, share tassels of similar design made with feathers of the same species, possibly indicating the same producers or ritual specialist. While color and design are certainly important, the presence of feathers from sociable Amazonian parrots

(Fig. 19e, etc.) or oropendulas (Figs. 19b, 19c), fierce Andean raptors (Fig. 19a) or water birds of the Andean lakes (Fig. 19h) and Pacific shores (Fig. 19f), embody multiple levels of significance related to their habits and geographic origins. Wood and bone pins may also bear significance in their material, as well as their form.

The body parts of birds and animals can be incorporated in headdress elements like those depicted in embroidered and painted imagery. Andean fox pelts<sup>54</sup> are placed on the apex of the outer display layer of many male mortuary bundles designated as EIP 1A and others transitional to EIP 1B. Some have the short reddish-brown hair characteristic of the coastal Sechura fox (*Pseudolopex sechurae*), while others have a thicker, variegated pelt more typical of southern Central Andean foxes (*Pseudolopex culpaeus*).<sup>55</sup> Feathered skin ornaments incorporating a fox muzzle that crowned the outer display layer of Arena Blanca 157 (Fig. 19g) have been interpreted as either a fox or feline, both of which appear as headdress elements in embroidered imagery. However, feline pelts or body parts have not yet been identified in the Wari Kayan gravelots. Feathered cloth headdresses with large 'Oculate being' ringed eyes and whiskers, flanking a fox muzzle, crowned at least two mortuary bundles in Ocuaje tombs.<sup>56</sup>

While feathered bird effigies incorporating skeletal elements are known from Ocuaje, the only example we have identified in the Paracas Necropolis mortuary tradition is the beak of a laughing gull (*Larus atricilla*)<sup>57</sup> bound by a sleeve of complex looping (Fig. 19d), that once formed part of a display layer in the male bundle Arena Blanca 4, designated as EIP 1B. It appears significant that entire fox pelts are documented on the apex of many of the complex Wari Kayan male bundles, while the two examples of facial elements of a mammal or bird combined with other materials in a representation, analogous (but not formally similar) to those from Ocuaje tombs, come from the smaller clusters of burials in the Arena Blanca sector.

## Wrap-up

This review of headdress forms at the Paracas Necropolis demonstrates evidence for the gender associations of headdress elements and for a trajectory of change over time. However, the relationship between style and time

is inseparable from the social and political affiliations expressed in dress, which result in diversity among contemporary mortuary bundles and channel influences and innovations. Headdress elements were placed in highly visible locations, where their styles preserve evidence for the projection of diverse identities and the contributions of different producer groups.

There is much more to be done in the analysis of each headdress form. For instance, among the many examples of headcloth form 1 there are differences in production practices, proportions and imagery, including features dominant in a single mortuary bundle and recurring features that can be traced among different gravelots. This is true for other headband and headcloth forms, as well as slings, human hair ornaments, and featherwork. The other headcloth forms each cluster in certain mortuary bundles, which also share some other characteristics. The gender references are interesting, and not a simple dichotomy. What other aspects of social identity may be referenced by these headcloths? The changing characteristics of featherwork and human (or other) hair ornaments interact, as the two are typically juxtaposed in headdresses and can be used together to ornament an artifact. Do they embody analogous social or philosophical references?

As the documentation of a wider number of mortuary bundles improves, new forms of headdress elements will probably be documented and forms now 'unique' may be perceived as part of a genre present in several contexts. I expect these elements to be important for comparisons with other sites in the region, as headdresses are more likely to be preserved and identifiable in disturbed burials and in contexts with less favorable conditions of preservation than Tello and other members of his excavation team found at the Necropolis of Wari Kayan.

## Acknowledgements

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54. Lavallée 2008, fig. 9, pp. 86; MNAHP 2013, fig. 92 pp. 166-167; Verde 2009, fig. 13 p. 68.

55. This canid genus has also been also designated as *Lycalopex*.

56. Morris and Van Hagen 1993, fig. 44 pp. 65.

57. Identified by Antje Chiu as part of the project *Prácticas En Vida, Presencia Despues De La Muerte: Lo Estilístico Y Lo Material En La Necrópolis De Paracas*, 2012.

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